1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

145 Ma'meč; and he gave me the impression of being a Russian-Koryak half-blood.
142 I heard that the Alutor people have a more abundant growth of hair on their faces; but those whom I saw did not differ in this respect from other Koryak.[1]

142 It is quite impossible to define the shades of color of the skin without the assistance of chromatic tables, which we did not have with us; so we can speak on this point only in a general way.

The characteristic coloring of the Koryak skin is of the bronze scale of tints, ranging from light brown to copper-red and dull brown, and is darker on the exposed parts. The skin of the women is of a somewhat lighter shade. It is easy to distinguish between the color of skin of the Koryak and that of his neighbors, the Tungus and the Russians. The Koryak skin seems to me to lack entirely the yellow pigment of the Tungus skin, as well as the pale white of the Russian. In comparison with the Koryak, the Tungus appeared white to me.

I observed an interesting illustration of this. In the summer of 1901 I was at the mouth of the Avekova River, where a few Koryak and Tungus families were hunting and fishing. Once when I was present at a contest between two boys, a Tungus and a Koryak, with their bodies stripped to the waist, I was struck by the whiteness of the body of the Tungus boy compared with that of the Koryak. The photograph which I took then illustrates this difference well (see Plate XVIII, Fig. 2).

I was often struck by the light color of the skin of the Tungus (at least, the northern members of the tribes with whom I came in contact), particularly of their women and children. When I examined their skin closer, and compared it with mine or with that of my European fellow-travellers, I discovered that the Tungus skin is actually a light yellow (the color of a lemon-rind), or even somewhat lighter, while the skin of northern Europeans is of a bluish-milky or rosy-white color.

The bright-red cheeks so often seen on young Tungus women are particularly misleading as to the character of their complexion. The greater part of the northern Tungus seen by me were of a dark-yellow or dull earthy hue.

The above description of the color of the Koryak skin is as accurate as it is possible to give it without the aid of tables.

619 The tribes with whom some branches of the Koryak formerly intermarried,
582 and do even at present, are the Chukchee, Kamchadal, Tungus, Russians, Yakut, Chuvantzy, and Yukaghir. The Reindeer Koryak of the Palpal, at the southern border of the Chukchee territory, intermarry mainly with the Chukchee. In northern Kamchatka the Maritime Koryak have long inter-

[1] It is of interest to note that the conqueror of Kamchatka, Atlassoff, in his report, characterized the Koryak as a bearded people. Barrett-Hamilton and Jones (A Visit to Karaginski Island, Kamchatka [Geographical Journal, London, 1898, Vol. XII, p. 290]) tell that some of the men of the Karagha village were bearded, and they regard this as due to a mixture with Russian blood.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

married with the Kamchadal. In olden times the Koryak on the border of the ancient Tungus-Koryak territory, near Tauysk, undoubtedly intermarried with the Tungus. Of late years the Reindeer Koryak of the Gishiga and Varkhalam Rivers have intermarried with Tungus women, and *vice versâ*. Since the close of the eighteenth century some of the Russianized Maritime Koryak of the Okhotsk Sea in the villages of Yamsk and Tumanskoye have intermarried with the Yakut.

Russo-Koryak half-breeds are found in the Russianized settlements of Nayakhan, Yamsk, and Tumanskoye, and in Russian villages of that region. The Koryak intermarried with the Chuvantzy and with the Yukaghir at the time when they were waging war with them, and took their women prisoners.

MORTALITY, FECUNDITY, and EXTREME AGE. — To get an idea of the rate of mortality among Koryak children, I copied from the records of seventy-one married women whose measurements we had taken, the number of their living and dead children. Of 278 births,[1] 160 individuals lived, and 118 (42 per cent) were dead.[2] The ages of the dead children are not indicated; but, since about half of the mothers were not quite thirty years old, the children must have been young when they died. As everywhere, so among the Koryak, most of the children that do not survive die during the first year of their lives. This may serve as an explanation of the Koryak belief that children's souls are timid, and that therefore children are more subject than older persons to attacks from evil spirits. For this reason, children are placed under the special protection of the household penates.[2] Notwithstanding this, the mortality of children is enormous in comparison with that of civilized nations. This is the more remarkable, since the Koryak women nurse their children, and not infrequently continue to do so until the children are three years of age. As is well known, the great mortality in civilized countries among children in their first year is due to artificial feeding. It should be noted, in connection with the number of deaths among the Koryak children, that the records were taken by me just after an epidemic of measles, which had proved very fatal to children of all ages. The mortality of children is the same among the Reindeer as among the Maritime Koryak. Dividing the above number of children into two groups, according to their origin, I obtained the same coefficient of mortality in both groups. Apparently the difference in the mode of life of these two groups has no effect on the mortality in childhood.

In order to arrive at some conclusion concerning the fecundity of women, I singled out from the above number of women all those over thirty-nine years of age. Koryak women grow old at an early age, and forty years in most cases may be considered as the age-limit for procreation. Thus I found

[1] Stillbirths and miscarriages are not included here.

[2] See Part I, p. 101.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

837 the sojourn of the bridegroom when fulfilling the period of service.[1] In one myth,[2] Yiñea-ñeut, daughter of Big-Raven, bears a child by Earth-Maker in a miraculous manner, not having seen him personally. Afterwards Earth-Maker comes to Big-Raven, owns up to being the child's father, and rides off to his own parents with Yiñea-ñeut as his wife, taken with her father's consent. But Earth-Maker's parents, on meeting them, express surprise that Yiñea-ñeut already has a child. Yiñea-ñeut turns into a stone for shame. This episode illustrates to a certain degree the attitude of the Koryak towards extra-marital relations of the sexes.

The character of these relations is confirmed not only by the tales and assertions of the Koryak themselves and from my impressions obtained in Koryak homes, but also by the testimony of such experts in love affairs as the Gishiga Cossacks. I often inquired of Cossacks with whom I chanced to drive, or whom I met on my journeys, about their relations with Koryak women; and they confirmed the Koryak statements as to their inaccessibility. According to them, there are exceptions, but these are rare. Thus, in the village Kamenskoye, consisting of thirty houses, the Cossacks pointed out to me but one girl of loose conduct, but none of the Koryak men would serve for her.

848 In conclusion, I shall give one more proof of what I have said. I made registers of the families of the Maritime and Reindeer Koryak, in order to form a clearer idea of the number of family members and their marital relations. In making the census, I did not find a single child whose father was not known as the mother's lawful husband, according to Koryak customs. But among the Yukaghir, Tungus, northern Yakut, and Russian settlers of northern Siberia, it is hard to find a single family in which there are no children born out of wedlock or of entirely unknown parentage. Such children are called by the Russians "maiden children," — a term adopted from the Yukaghir ma'rxid-u'o; i. e., a child (born) by a maiden, and belonging to the clan or family of the latter, even if she should eventually marry into another family.

582 PROHIBITIONS APPLYING TO MARRIAGES BETWEEN RELATIVES. — Relatives between whom intermarriages are prohibited are quite numerous, and may be divided into relatives by blood and relatives by affinity.

Blood Relatives. — A man is forbidden to marry (1) his mother, (2) daughter, (3) own sister, (4) cousin, (5) father's sister, (6) mother's sister, (7) brother's daughter, and (8) own sister's daughter. Between all other blood-relations, marriages are permitted. In answer to my questions covering second-cousins, some Koryak replied that they did not consider them relatives. From this the conclusion may be drawn that beyond that degree, no blood-relationship is recognized; but, on the other hand, in direct ascending and descending line, even very distant degrees, such as great-grandfathers, great-grandmothers, and great-grandchildren, are recognized as relatives.

[1] See Part I, pp. 131, 163, 198.

[2] See Part I, p. 300.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

Relatives by Affinity. — A man cannot marry the following relatives by affinity; (1) stepmother; (2) sister of living wife (i. e., simultaneously two sisters); (3) cousin of living wife (i. e., simultaneously two cousins); (4) younger brother's widow; (5) deceased wife's elder sister; (6) nephew's widow; (7) sister of brother's wife (i. e., two brothers cannot marry two sisters); (8) cousin of brother's wife (i. e., two brothers cannot marry two cousins); (9) simultaneously an aunt and her niece; (10) two brothers cannot marry, one an aunt, and the other her niece; (11) two male cousins cannot marry, one an aunt, and the other her niece; (12) an uncle and nephew cannot marry two sisters, two cousins, or two women of whom one is an aunt and the other her niece; (13) a step-daughter.

The aversion to cohabitation between relatives in the first two degrees of blood-relationship — such as the cohabitation with a mother, daughter, or sister, which, with very rare exceptions, we find among the most primitive tribes — hardly requires explanation. As regards the prohibition of marriages among the other above-mentioned relatives, the Koryak replied to my questions on this point, that relatives of the categories mentioned would die soon if they should enter into cohabitation with one another. Unfortunately this answer gives no clew to the above-mentioned taboos. However, certain marital taboos between relatives by affinity are, as we shall see later, closely connected with the peculiarities of the Koryak levirate.

Krasheninnikoff states that among the Kamchadal "the forbidden kinds of marriage are with one's own mother and daughter only; while marriages between step-son and step-mother, step-father and step-daughter, and between cousins, are permissible."[1]

Steller says[2] that if a Kamchadal married a widow who had a daughter, he lived with both as his wives. According to him, the Kamchadal allowed a man to marry his step-mother, or to have two sisters for wives simultaneously. It seems to me hardly credible that the Kamchadal should differ so sharply in their marriage-taboos from the modern Koryak. It is regrettable that what has been said by Steller and Krasheninnikoff cannot now be verified, since the modern Kamchadal, having become Christians and been completely Russianized, observe the rules of the Orthodox Catholic Church in the matter of marriages, as far as their formal side is concerned. However, Krasheninnikoff asserts even, with reference to the Reindeer Koryak, that they used to marry cousins, aunts, and step-mothers.[3] It is hard to admit that in the brief period (about a hundred and fifty years) which has elapsed since Krasheninnikoff's time, the marriage-laws of the Koryak should have changed to such an extent.

It must nevertheless be added, that, if we are to judge from the myths,

[1] See Krasheninnikoff, II, p. 169. [2] See Steller, p. 347. [3] See Krasheninnikoff, II, p. 221.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

582 certain of the marriage-prohibitions among relatives by blood or affinity were unknown in ancient times. Accepting the evolutionary theory in the development of marriage[1] and family relations, we may view the data contained in myths as reflections of the customs which were prevalent in earlier times; i. e., as historical material.

Among the legendary tales of incestuous marriages, we find no episodes of cohabitation with a mother or daughter; i. e., with the first degree of blood-relationship. In one myth[2] it is related how Ilĺa´, wishing to find the sleeping-tent of his former wife, in order to prevent her cohabitation with another husband, first came across his sister's bed, then across that of his mother; and they cried out, "See what he is doing, he comes to his sister and to his mŏther!"

In the myths we find the episode of the marriage of Eme´mqut and his own sister,[3] but the narrative censures such cohabitation. From the course of the narrative it is clear that the incest had not been premeditated. The sister had grown up separately, and Eme´mqut finds her by chance. But, even after having learned that she is his sister, he insists on continuing the union; while his sister Yiñea-ñeut is ashamed of it, and finds a way out of the unnatural marriage by persuading another woman to exchange husbands with her.

On the other hand, marriages among male and female cousins occur quite frequently in the tales.[4] These marriages meet with no reproaches from anybody. In only one story[5] does Creator explain his decision to make his children marry the children of his sister by the absence of other people near by. This is, as it were, an excuse for his violation of taboos.

Of other cases of cohabitation between relatives which are now adays forbidden, we find further, in the myths, the marriage of two brothers with two cousins. Thus the two brothers Kalat marry, one a sister of Eme´mqut, the other Kilu´s sister; and two brothers from the Bear-People marry, one Yiñea-ñeut; and the other, her cousin Kilu´.[6]

It may therefore be supposed that certain marriage-prohibitions are of later origin than the myths, and that formerly these prohibitions were limited to a smaller group of relations by blood and affinity than they are now. Similar contradictions might result if these traditions had been borrowed and were told without those changes which correspond to the local customs.

582 587 Even now, in distant localities, the same prohibitions are not observed throughout. In some localities, cases are met with in which individual persons act contrary to public opinion and custom. Thus, in the village Kamenskoye

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[1] In speaking of the evolution of marriage, I do not mean to say that all tribes have passed through the same successive stages in this development.

[2] See Part I, p. 302. [3] Ibid., pp. 156, 160, 225. [4] Ibid., I, pp. 150, 294, 297.

[5] Ibid., I, p. 139. [6] Ibid., I, p. 150.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 R14 Koryak R Y4

I was told that the marriage of a nephew with his uncle's wife, or that of a widower with the elder sister of his deceased wife, is countenanced. It is possible that these deviations should be ascribed to the decline in the force of traditions, under the influence of the Russians, or, better still, of the Russianized Koryak of northern Kamchatka. 582 587

In the village Itkana a Koryak (E'igexmit by name) who was married to two cousins was pointed out to me; while among the Reindeer Koryak of the Taigonos Peninsula, I knew an elderly Koryak (Xoti'tto by name) who had married the widow of his deceased younger cousin. The old people told Xoti'tto that he should not do it, that it was a sin; but he would not listen to them. These cases, too, may perhaps be ascribed to the weakening of the taboo.

Courting and serving for a Bride. — The custom of having the parents or other elder relatives of a young man go to the bride's parents as match-makers for him, was evidently practised in antiquity too. In the myths we meet with this custom.[1] The match-maker is called paññə'četala'n (i. e., "the asking one"), since the essence of match-making consists in the bridegroom's father, mother, or other elder kinsman, asking permission for the bridegroom to serve for the girl. The customary formula of match-making is as follows: On entering the house, the match-maker says, "Here I've come." — "What for?" the girl's father asks. "I am looking for a wife," the match-maker replies. "For whom?" the match-maker is asked. "For so and so," he answers. "Well," says the father, after meditating a while, "we have girls, but they are bad; later on you may yet scold us." — "No, it is all right," the match-maker will say. "Then let him come, I will not harm him," the host will return. 584

It is curious to note the modesty with which the father speaks of the bride, not only without attempting to praise her, but even speaking disparagingly of her qualities. In this is partly expressed the desire of the bride's father to disclaim all responsibility for misunderstandings that may arise in the future between the young couple.

Very often the young people get along without match-makers. This is the case particularly when parents disapprove of a son's choice, and if he does not want to submit to their disapproval. Frequently a young man does not tell anybody of his intentions. He goes to the house in which the girl lives whom he desires to marry, and, without saying a word, remains there, performing all house-work becoming to a man. The house-owner receives the suitor's services with the same silence as he renders them. If the bridegroom pleases him, the bride's father begins to intrust him with commissions. The Reindeer Koryak send the bridegroom to take care of the herd; and, in general, the future father-in-law tries to tire him out, and is over-exacting.

If the bride's parents do not want the bridegroom, they suggest that he

[1] See Part I p. 281.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

769 587 families give free access to the hearth, not only to the members of strange families, but also to the souls of their deceased members. The soul of a deceased relative, both on the father's and on the mother's side, may enter the new-born child; and each child borne by the daughter-in-law or engendered by the son-in-law may become the possessor of the soul of a deceased relative of a strange family. Thus a marriage contracted between two families brings nearer not only the living, but also the souls of the dead members, and the guardians of both families. The Koryak like to strengthen the union by new marriages. Thus the brother of a married woman will court her husband's sister, if there be such. These are favorite unions. We meet such cases, not only in every-day life, but also in myths.[1] In my opinion, the Koryak levirate has for its object the maintenance of the union between two families: a widower marries the sister or relative of his deceased wife, and a widow is married to the relative of her deceased husband, in order to maintain the family union which has been interrupted by death.

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621 582 As marriage, with the exception of the above-mentioned degrees of kinship, may be contracted between parties of the same village or family even, — for instance, any second-cousins, — it happens very rarely that the match-maker or bridegroom goes to a remote village or nomad camp in search of a bride. Most frequently marriages are contracted between inhabitants of neighboring villages. On the Palpal I once met an elderly Koryak from the village Mikino driving to the Opuka River, and asked him why he was going there. He replied that he was going to get some relative of his deceased wife to marry him. "Can't you find a wife for yourself anywhere nearer?" I asked. "I can," he replied; "but the union between my family and the family of my children's mother must not be interrupted. Besides, the relatives of my deceased wife know me and won't make me serve for a bride."

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587 182 As I look at it, the Koryak levirate is an institution having for its object the continuation of the union between families related by affinity. This union is necessary in order that the spirits of the ancestors, the hearth and other family guardians, of the two families entering into relationship, may abide in peace and unity. In former times, when separate groups of a tribe waged war with one another on the slightest occasion, families united by marriage formed defensive and offensive alliances. Often the marrying-off of a girl into a family with which there had been war, made peace between the spirits of the deceased of both families, and put an end to blood-vengeance.

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582 587 In certain cases, an extensive league of families may be formed through intermarriage. If there are several sons in one family, and several daughters in another, these two families cannot confine themselves to intermarrying with each other, for brothers of one family cannot marry sisters of another. Some

[1] See Part I, pp. 149, 157, 164, 226, 230, 252, 254, 257, 267, 303, 308.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

must seek brides in different families, and daughters must be married into different families. Only in the case of the death of a married son or of a married daughter of one family or the other is a second marriage, through levirate, possible. 582 587

Of course, if the nature of the Koryak levirate has for its purpose the strengthening of family alliances, it may be asked why a widower cannot marry his deceased wife's elder sister, or why a widow cannot become the wife of her deceased husband's elder brother. I have put the question, but to my regret I have received no satisfactory answer from the Koryak. Personally I think that in this case the legal position of the elder brother in the family supersedes the considerations of blood-relationship. When father or mother die or become too old, the eldest brother and eldest sister take their places. By force of this position, sexual intercourse of the eldest brother (who enjoys the right of agnate) with his sister-in-law, or of the eldest sister with her brother-in-law, seems to be imagined to be the same kind of incest as the cohabitation of a father with his daughter-in-law or of a mother with her son-in-law. 587 835

I will add here a few details illustrating the application of the levirate in the every-day life of the modern Koryak. From these it appears that in several places this custom is coming to lose vigor and to assume the form of a right instead of involving an obligation. Attention must also be drawn to the subjection of woman in this custom. In Kamenskoye I was told that a younger brother may marry his eldest brother's widow, or a widower the younger sister of his deceased wife, while in other places they must do it. On the other hand, if disinclined, the relatives may not give a widow or deceased wife's younger sister to her brother-in-law in marriage. From this it is evident that in Kamenskoye the custom leaves to either side, if such be desired, the choice of not renewing the family union by a new marriage. 587

But if the nearest relatives of a woman have died, and she has thus lost her natural protectors, the widower or brother-in-law can enforce the observance of the levirate against her will. However, men rarely make use of this right. Shortly before my arrival, an elder in Kamenskoye (Opilli by name) had lost his wife and eldest brother. The wife of the latter, with her children, went to his home to live; but when asked whether he had married her, he answered that as yet she was not ready to do so. I know of another case from the village Kamenskoye, where a Koryak, married to a young woman, received into his house two old widows, the wives of his deceased elder brother, but he did not live with them because they were too old. [736]

I met with a similar case on the Paren River. A Koryak, Ewpicō, who had a young wife, had taken his uncle's widow into his house, but did not live with her, as she was sickly.

In his preliminary report on the Chukchee, Bogoras speaks of the exist- 000

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

through levirate, was too old. In some cases the second wife, who was obtained through levirate, is the younger of the two. Only in two cases did I find that both wives had children, and in neither of these cases were levirate customs involved. On the other hand, in three cases of men having two wives, neither wife had children. Their barrenness, accordingly, must be attributed to the husband. The only man with three wives whom I saw was the elder of the Taigonos Reindeer Koryak.[1] He had children by his first wife; but she became ill, evidently with hereditary syphilis, and her face is so deformed that she covers it up whenever an outsider enters the tent. His second wife is barren; and from the youngest, the third wife, he has offspring. In one case, a young man who married an old woman, his uncle's widow, through levirate, took into his house a little girl, and began to live with her after she had grown older. She seemed about sixteen years old when I saw her, and she was pregnant at the time. Such marriages with minors were more common in former times. Generally speaking girls marry when twenty years old, or even older.

It is interesting to note that the greater number of monogamous marriages among the Reindeer Koryak coincides with the greater number of men as compared with women among them.

The statistics of the official census for 1897 have been discussed before (p. 445). I myself made a detailed census of the Maritime Koryak from the village of Kamenskoye to the three Itkana villages, inclusive, and of the Reindeer Koryak on the Taigonos Peninsula and along the Tilqai River. According to my count, there were 102 women to every 100 men among the Maritime Koryak, and but 89 women to every 100 men among the Reindeer Koryak. The ratio of women to men which I obtained among the Maritime Koryak was identical with the one I found in the official census of all the Maritime Koryak. But the percentage of women among the Reindeer Koryak which I obtained was even below the census of 1897, which gives 90.8 females for each 100 males. This may possibly be explained by the fact that I took the census after an epidemic of measles which had carried off more women than men, and left many widowers.

Judging from both myths and actual observation, it seems that the prevailing form of marriage among the Koryak is monogamic, and that polygyny kept up by the custom of levirate and the desire of having an offspring when the first wife is barren. However, in certain traditions which I heard, relating to a past by no means remote, stories are told of strong men, who were good warriors and skilful hunters, and who had harems of women taken by force from their fellow-tribesmen. A cavern on the rocky coast of Penshina Bay was pointed out to me as the dwelling-place of such

[1] According to Dittmar, when he visited the Taigonos Peninsula, the elder had four wives (Dittmar, Die Korâken, p. 25).

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

861 to be photographed by my wife without the upper coat, but immediately refused the presents when her aunt shouted to her, "Don't take your coat off, your uncles will be angry." The girl was an orphan, and lived with her father's brothers.

868 From the age of ten to twelve, children begin to work, and boys join their father in his daily pursuits. They assist him in fishing, carrying wood for the hearth, and, among the Reindeer Koryak, tending the herd. Boys in their teens are made to go through a rigorous training to accustom them to withstand privations, cold, and fatigue. Lads usually wear the clothing cast off by the old people. Girls, beginning at the same age, help in household duties, skin-dressing, and the sewing of clothing.

593 When grown up, the attachment of children to their parents becomes weaker, and they become more independent, particularly so in the case of sons. Girls are more subjected than boys to the regime of the older members of the family. Young men at times engage in disputes with their fathers.

888 TREATMENT OF OLD PEOPLE. — The power of the old people rests to a considerable degree on their strength and energy. If an old man can no longer perform the duties of a herdsman or direct the hunt, he ceases to be an authority. In the majority of cases, children treat their elders with respect and listen to their advice, even when they no longer manage the household. Thus I have seen an old man of from seventy to eighty years, who could no longer hold the reins in his hands, and was carried in a special sledge driven by his nephew. The latter would take him off and put him on the sledge, would tuck him up warmly, etc. In another case I saw the cruel treatment of an old father by his son, a wealthy reindeer-breeder. The father had had a small herd, and the son married a rich girl, who brought in a large herd. The two lived together. Once they were with the herd near the village Itkana, and the old man began to press his suit for the hand of a girl of the Maritime Koryak, who consented to marry him. The son objected to his father's marrying a Maritime woman; and when the father would not listen to his son, the latter separated from him.

582 In passing, I should like to mention here that marriages between the
356 Maritime and Reindeer Koryak are very rare.[1] This is a consequence of the
562 different forms of housekeeping carried on by the two groups of the Koryak. A daughter-in-law from a Maritime village will be a poor housekeeper in a Reindeer camp, and a son-in-law from the coast will be a poor herdsman. However, the pastoral life of the reindeer-breeders has not led to any changes concerning the customs relating to the bridegroom's service, marriage, levirate, etc.; but the new form of household economy has developed the principle of personal property more sharply, and has made woman more subject to man.

[1] Excepting the Reindeer Koryak who constitute one group with the inhabitants of the villages about Bering Sea (see p. 434).

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

This latter circumstance is explained by the influence of the severe life which the herdsman leads. While the Maritime Koryak does almost nothing during the winter, living as he does in a comparatively warm house, the Reindeer Koryak must undergo all the hardships of winter while tending the herd.

But to return to the old man of whom I spoke before. Having entered into relationship with the Maritime Koryak, he remained near the coast, wandering about near their village. One year happened to be a poor one; no sea-animals were caught, the Maritime Koryak were starving during the winter, and the Reindeer Koryak killed his reindeer for food for the coast people. When all his reindeer were gone, he left his wife and returned to the Reindeer Koryak; but his son would not have him, advising him to go and live with the Maritime Koryak. The old man was finally taken in by a very poor kinsman, where I saw him in a pitiful condition. He was assisting the women in drying fish in the sun, and was dressed in tatters.

THE KILLING OF OLD PEOPLE. — The custom of having the nearest of kin kill an old person at the latter's desire, which is still extant among the Chukchee,[1] is no longer met with among the Koryak; but in some localities the memory of this custom has been preserved. In the district-commander's report for 1886[2] to the Governor of the Maritime Province, mention is still made of such murders, though it does not clearly appear whether Chukchee or Koryak are referred to. For details of this custom I refer to Bogoras.[1] Generally speaking, however, the motives of the old people in desiring to be killed were decline of strength, disease, or simply dissatisfaction with life. The executors of the old people's desire were their sons or other nearest of kin. The killing was done either by strangling with a thong or by stabbing the heart with a spear.

TERMS OF RELATIONSHIP. — From the list of terms of relationship given below, it appears that the system corresponds to the regulation of marriages, described before.

CONSANGUINITY.

Ačí'čɛ (Paren), a'pa (Kamenskoye), apa'pel (Reindeer Koryak)	Grandfather and great-uncle, paternal and maternal.
Yɪ'ɲɲy-ačí'čɛ, yi'ɲɲi-apa ("linked grandfather")	Great-grandfather.
A'ma, a'n·a	Grandmother and great-aunt, paternal and maternal.
Yi'ɲɲi-a'n·a ("linked grandmother")	Great-grandmother.
ɛnni'w (Chukchee, Endi'w)	Uncle, paternal and maternal.
ntčei'	Aunt, paternal and maternal.
A'pa (Paren), ta'ta (Kamenskoye), E'npič (Reindeer Koryak)[3]	Father.

[1] See Bogoras, Brief Report, p. 38. [2] Gishiga Archive Records, File No. 404, 1886.

[3] E'npič is used also at Kamenskoye. Literally it means "oldest." E'npičō (plural) denotes "fathers" and "old men."

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

tory. Being hunters, they occupy the wooded valleys of rivers which abound in game, and where the Koryak with their herds are seldom met with. Friction is thus avoided. It even happens that the Koryak and the Tungus peacefully camp not far from each other or side by side. Thus the Tungus gradually advanced to several tributaries of the Penshina River, on which the squirrel occurs; and along the shores of the Okhotsk Sea they quite recently penetrated, even to Kamchatka, where, besides finding plenty of food for their reindeer, and mountain-sheep for hunting, they ran across a valuable fur-animal, — the sable.

Thus the original warlike relations of the Koryak with the neighboring natives were in the course of time superseded by entirely peaceful relations, based chiefly on barter. It is true that the Koryak still have contemptuous nicknames for each of the peoples; but, wherever they come into contact with these peoples, they form friendships and favor intermarriages.

An interesting trait in the lives of these primitive peoples is the remarkable tolerance with which they treat each other's customs and beliefs, and their willingness, in case of need, to recognize each other's strength or superiority. Thus the Koryak do not hesitate to appeal for assistance to the shamans of the Chukchee or Tungus. A foreign shaman is even treated with more than the ordinary respect accorded to his class, for he is the master of spirits who are beyond the control of local shamans. When a Koryak enters into the relation of marriage or of friendship with a person belonging to another people, the accompanying ceremonies follow the custom of either of the two peoples, according to agreement. If a Koryak, for example, marries a Tungus girl, the marriage ceremony is performed in accordance with Tungus customs, and he pays a ransom for the bride. A Tungus girl, on the other hand, on entering a Koryak household, puts on Koryak garments and submits to the customs which regulate the home life of the Koryak. A Tungus has to serve for his Koryak bride. Tungus-Koryak marriages are, however, very rare in the interior of the country. As indicated above, intermarriages of the Koryak with the Tungus are of most frequent occurrence in the territory of the Reindeer Koryak on the Gishiga and Varkhalam Rivers. Although the Tungus are all Christians, they do not invite the Russian priests to perform their marriage ceremonies whenever one of the parties belongs to the heathen Koryak, but wed according to Koryak or ancient Tungus customs. Marriages between the Koryak and the Chukchee are more frequent than those between the former and the Tungus. In the case of these intermarriages, the Chukchee camps within the Koryak territory, like those in the north of Kamchatka or on the Parapol Dol, adopt Koryak customs; on the Chukchee frontier, on the other hand, in the northern part of the Palpal, the Koryak submit to Chukchee customs, including that of exchanging wives.

23: Krasheninnikov N-3 (1736-40) 1764 Koryak

amidſt all their misfortunes, with the pleaſure of having once in their life made a delicious meal.

Amongſt all theſe barbarous nations, excepting the *Kamtſchadales*, theft is reputable, provided they do not ſteal in their own tribe, or if done with ſuch art as to prevent diſcovery; on the other hand, it is puniſhed very ſeverely if diſcovered, not for the theft, but for want of addreſs in the art of ſtealing. A *Tchukotſkoi* girl cannot be married before ſhe has ſhewn her dexterity in this way.

Murder is not looked upon as a great crime unleſs it be in their own tribe, and then the relations of the murdered generally revenge it, but no one elſe takes any notice of it.

In their marriages the rich match with the rich, and the poor with the poor, with little regard either to beauty or any other accompliſhment. They marry for the moſt part into their own family, ſuch as with a firſt couſin, an aunt, or mother-in-law; and, in ſhort, with any relation except their own mother or daughter.

The ceremonies of courtſhip are the ſame as among the *Kamtſchadales*. Although the bridegroom ſhould be very rich, yet he is obliged to ſerve three or five years for his bride; during which time they allow them to ſleep together, though the form of catching the bride ſhould not be performed, which they leave 'till the marriage be celebrated, and that is done without any great ceremony. They have ſometimes two, and ſometimes three wives, whom they keep at different places, giving them a herd of deer and a keeper. Their greateſt pleaſure is to go from place to place and examine their cattle; and it is ſurpriſing that the *Koreki*, notwithſtanding their herds are ſo numerous, and they are quite ignorant of arithmetick, can immediately diſcover the leaſt loſs, and even deſcribe all the marks of the deer that is miſſing.

They have a great fondneſs for their children, and breed them up from their infancy to labour and oeconomy. Thoſe that

Koryak RY4
Kamchadal RY3
Chukchee RY2

C /242 cont./

582 171 835 The Chukchee marriage norms probably were the same as among the other nationalities of the same linguistic group as the Chukchee, namely, the Kamchadal and the Koryak. Concerning the Kamchadal, we have the testimony K 582 835 of Krasheninnikov in Opisanie zemli Kamchatki /A Description of Kamchatka/ (II, 169) that marriages were concluded, unhindered, between male and female cousins. As to the KK 582 835 C [835] Koryak, their norms were evidently /243/ under the strong influence of the Tungus peoples. Thus, while marriage to a niece was regarded as incestuous among the Chukchee, it was permitted among the Koryak. As among the Tungus, marriage simultaneously to two sisters is not allowed among them. But the basic feature of Turanian marriage -- the obKK 587 ligation of marriage within one and the same clan -- has been perpetuated in the Koryak marriage in the institution of the sororate, or, as it is called by Iokhel'son, the double levirate. KK [171] [614] [177] As is well-known, the peculiarity of this institution, widespread even on the continent of North America (Algonkin, Thompson, Skidi, Pawnee), is expressed in the obligation of the widower to marry a woman from the clan of his deceased wife -- namely, a younger sister, cousin, or niece of the deceased (the last category -- nieces -- has evidently been adopted from the Tungus). Iokhel'son explains the origin of this institution by the desire to maintain religious ties that have been established between the spouses and by an unwillingness to admit an alien element to the sacred family hearth. Such an explanation could be very easily admitted, but then it is not understandable how the first, dead wife was admitted to the sacred hearth, especially since the Koryak have no knowledge of any kind of religious rituals like the KK 589 above-mentioned Chukchee ritual of administering the sacrament to the wife. On the other hand, this is explained 835 much more simply by the institution of obligatory marriage. With the obligatory cousin-marriage, sisters and female cousins of one family belonged to the brothers and male cousins of another, and naturally, when the wife of a man

KK 587 835 /243 cont./ died, he took her younger sister or cousin. The institution was not only juridical, but religious, for the spouses were bound by the ties of common blood. Iokhel'son does not say whom the Koryak generally marry. Judging by the example of the Chukchee, among whom marriages are concluded predominantly between cousins, we may state with conviction that a Koryak also generally marries his cousin (i.e., a person of common blood, which is why the wedding ceremony has no ritualism), and therefore, after her death, he follows the same ancient law and takes her sister or cousin.

C KK [582]

A 114 582 835 We shall now proceed to the Aleut, whom Morgan considered the intermediate link between the Asiatic and the American peoples. We do not have reliable information about their marriage norms, but what little we know is of great interest to us from the standpoint of the question we are studying, especially since those facts were related by an observer who spent a great many years among them, namely, by Veniaminov. First of all, it seems that the customary form of marriage among the Aleut was cousin marriage. /244/ Veniaminov does not relate the details, but definitely says that the most favored selection for a bride was the daughter of an uncle (1). Of even greater interest is the description

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A 595 [113]

1. Tvoreniia Innokentiia /The Works of Innokentii/, Book III, p. 322.

of polyandry among the Aleut. "A woman," writes Veniaminov," was allowed to have two husbands, of whom one was the chief one, and the second his assistant, or, as he is called by the Russians, his partner. Such a woman was not only not considered degenerate, but was even praised as efficient. The second husband, fully enjoying the rights of a husband, had to produce and, in general, strive for the support of his wife and family, just like the first husband (2). Erman (3) relates the same, but he does

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2. Ibid., 323.